2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

412 of fresh meal were seen on its surface. A similar bowlder mortar may be seen in the foreground in pl. I.

415
417

FIG. 1.—Method of supporting a chicha jar.

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352
354 In the two circular houses of chiefs that still remained, the arrangement of household furnishings was more promiscuous, but in

[77 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature [132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no [363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and south-eastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had [346 a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap-
177] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture.

[351 Although most of the houses have no fences,
417] a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana* [245] of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts of the town. A small creek, with tree- or 312 bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 Farming. The farms of the *Boruca* contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manza-na* usually comprising about ten thousand [804]

[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

* A *vara* equals 33 inches.

peoples (see p. 26), and are, curiously enough, 177
practically the only group in modern Costa 48
Rica who have retained their indigenous dress,
even though many of their customs have unfortunately disappeared.

VILLAGES

water for washing purposes. The drinking 312
water is derived from springs which are
located in the northern section of the town.

Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying 361
in the very narrow plain cut by the Diquis
River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense
forest and thickets. As a consequence, they
are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-in, and, for many months of the year,
mosquito ridden. These villages have even
less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca.
Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead [363]
from one of the widely scattered and nearly
hidden houses to the other. There are no
churches or schools, and perhaps there is one
fence in both communities. Water is obtained
from shallow wells on the river bank, from [312]
small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river
bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the
town, but unlike the other river villages, the
community itself is open and free of the bush.
Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* [177]
influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to
lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American
sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school,
several saloons and stores, the houses all with
fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets
connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its
indigenous characteristics in the still ample
space or gardens around the houses, and, of
course, their construction which, for the most [342]
part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Malaria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, [164]
otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

square *varas*.[15] The farms are away from the 241
village, and are generally fenced in. The fence
is nearly always made with living posts, 417

417 usually from the *poro-poro* tree [16] (*Cochlospermum bibiscoides*). A vine called the *bejuco* [324] *de fuego*, or *brutʃ-a'* in Boruca, is used as horizontal bars, and to tie the fences, when the purse does not permit wire. The vine lasts at least a year without having to be replaced.
241 One of the *manzanas* is always made into a *milpa*, or corn patch. The rest is planted with rice (*Oryza sativa* L.), sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.), plantains (*Musa paradisiaca* L.), yuca (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.). The writer could not find the sweet variety which is *Esculenta* Crantz, although Pittier lists this in his vocabulary as *únbah*,[17] ñampí (*Dioscorea trifida* L.), cacao (*Theobroma Cacao* L.), some bananas (*Musa sapientum* L.), and tobacco (*Nicotiana Tabacum* L.).

Besides these ordinary foodstuffs, there is generally one or more of the following items: coffee (*Coffea* spp.), oranges (*Citrus sinensis* [L.] Osbeck), mangoes (*Mangifera indica* L.), pejibaye (*Guilielma utilis* Oerst.), both with and without thorns, papayas (*Carica Papaya* L.), alligator pears (*Persea americana* Mill.), pineapples (*Ananas comosus* [L.] Merr.), yucca (*Yucca elephantipes* Regel), *tiquisque* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), tree cotton (generally, *Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.), colored cotton (see p. 16), and at times, cashews (*Anacardium occidentale* L.).

243 The rice planted is the upland variety, and is sown after the ground has been subjected to the usual slash and burn method common to all *Boruca* cultivation. There are some twelve different varieties of corn, including a specimen with apparent jet black [18] kernels and a deep purple cob.[19] This is used as a rule, only for making chicha. Deep yellow, white, white and yellow, white-yellow-red, red, red-orange, and purple corn are also grown. The purple, like the black, is used generally for chicha. All the corn grown by the *Boruca* can be classified as *Zea Mays* L. and is divisible into types. The most common kind is known as "Tropical

[16] *Cochlospermum vitifolium* (Willd.) Spreng, according to Standley, 1937, p. 713; and *Cochlospermum bibiscoides*, according to Pittier, 1941, p. 68. Also see Pittier, 1908, p. 129.

[17] See Pittier, 1941, p. 45.

[18] There is no true black corn. Purple always appears mixed with black.

[19] In Guatemala, especially in the west, black corn is used to eat, that is, to make tortillas, or in any other

[p. 6-A]

243 the crop is gathered only by the women and
[462] children, but rice is gathered also by the men. For this purpose, an implement made of cow horn and metal with a fiber string is used. The
413 horn portion serves as a handle, fitting into the
243 palm of the hand while the metal part is sharpened as a knife, and protrudes between the index and the third finger. The string goes over the thumb to help steady the whole.
[177] This implement (see fig. 3, *c*) may have been borrowed from the Chiriquíans (i.e., the people from Chiriquí, Panamá, who formerly had homesteaded much of this area), and who use a similar tool, or it may be a local *Boruca* inspiration. The cutters are frequently decorated with lineal designs and initials (see fig. 3, *c*). The cutting of the rice is done with the right hand, the left being used to hold the plant. As with all other products, however,
[462] only the women and children bring the rice in from the fields, piling it in large baskets called *habas* in Spanish (see p. 15).

249 **Sugar, its Manufacture.** Sugar is extracted
417 from sugar cane in a very primitive fashion (see fig. 3, *d*). A tree with a knot is picked, and the knot hollowed out. About a foot or so distant, a forked portion of tree is placed erect, and one end of a hewn thick plank, slightly indented in the center, is rested in the fork with the other end against the live tree. A long pole is inserted in the knot hole, and a banana leaf is placed between the plank and the fork. Cane is put between the pole and the plank. One person holds and pushes one end of the cane and another pulls and receives it, while a third pumps the pole up and down. The cane is twisted to extract more juice as it is pulled through the presser. The juice runs down the plank, the leaf serving as a canal to guide the liquid into a vessel placed on the ground. When the pressing is over, the juice is boiled until an unrefined sugar remains.

231 **Domestic Animals.** As a rule, a family possesses a few chickens, some pigs, and an ox. The only one of these creatures which are given any semblance of shelter are the chickens, which, at night, are put in small houses (see figs. 4, *a*, *b*, *c*.—see p. 23). In some households, there are dogs, which are used for hunting, and occasionally cats and birds. The birds are generally kept as pets, although at times they are raised for food.

352 aerial roots, but the one with large roots is called in Boruca *kanazira*, and the kind with smaller roots is called *mana-kra'*. These *tabancos* either hang by vines from the roof, and serve as storage places for food or other things, or they are more stable structures made with thick horizontally placed poles resting on the uppermost horizontal pole of the wall, and forming a sort of second floor or platform to be used for sleeping as well as storing. To [417] climb to this sort of *tabanco*, ladders made by notching a single pole so as to give place for footing are used.

Beds usually line the inside of the living room. These beds are made of four supporting sticks with a v-shaped upper end. The lower end is placed in the earth. The bed supports are either of wood or of *chonta*. Usually a rectangular framework of four poles is fitted on top of the vertical supports and tied to them with a vine. The bed itself may be made of cane or hide, although sometimes planks are used.

The only furnishings besides these beds are low wooden benches about an inch off the ground, and in certain houses, plain old-fashioned wooden coffers to keep clothes. These [77] coffers are purely *ladino* and have been copied from the Costa Ricans who at one time or another have settled among these Indians. The low wooden benches are pure Indian, have four feet, and are either plain or have protruding heads and often tails (fig. 7, *b–6*, *c–1*). It has been suggested that this last type is copied from the stone seats or metates of the ancients.[22] The benches are kept highly polished

[continued p. 13-B, first paragraph]

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.** Relatively few *Boruca* wear costumes. The only ones who do are the older women who wear a *manta*, or skirt (see fig. 7, *d*), and a few men who still use the woven belt (see fig. 7, *b–7*). The majority are clothed in cheap unattractive cotton dresses, [439] the cloth bought in the nearest *ladino* settlement. Besides the *manta*, the women wear a *huipil*, or blouse, which may be of any color, even white. (The word *huipil* is understood and used at times by these people. They have

[continued p. 13-B, last paragraph]

[22] Stone, 1943, p. 81.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

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Boruca

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417]

[413
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4, 5. Distant views of Boruca village. 6. Rice-cutter (actual size). 7. Extraction of sugar cane juice.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

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[417]

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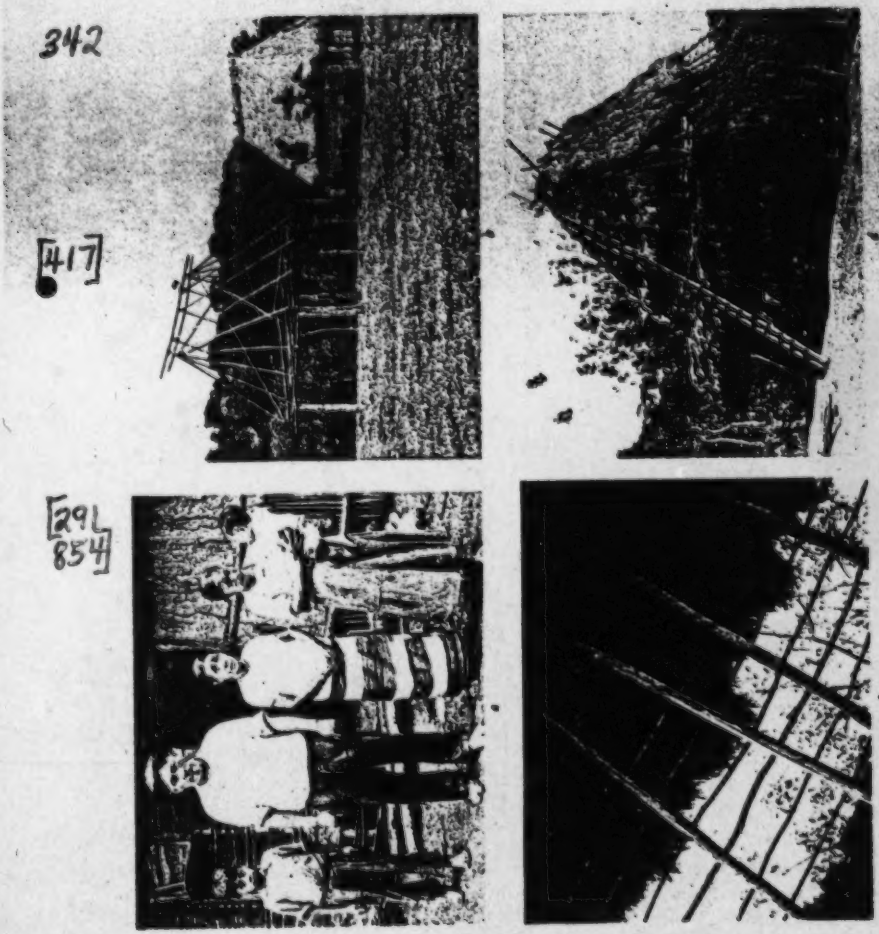

4. Two types of house construction in same house. A, Bare framework of roof, Palmar Norte. B, Roof framework in more advanced stage, Boruca.
2. Partly finished roof showing framework, grass, and ladder.

[p. 56]

262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason [177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold [454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of • [417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but [417] not in all. They are enclosed at night in small houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), ¼ or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raices y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

¼ [See category 116, END Plate 2 - ANALYST.]

[P. 19 (A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Bribri Cabecar

352 177 [354] [415] [412] 417 342 177 [192] nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions of other customs are evident. The hearth is sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends with vines similar to those of the Panamanian Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks, plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched steps is used for a ladder to reach the mezzanines which are occasionally seen in this type of house. It is significant that the Cabécares, who have had less contact with non-indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 [824] [192] [184] In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by *pita* (agave thread). There is no word for lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Talamanca, the word for fire is used.

On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 [287] **Dress.** Dress does not ever appear to have formed an important part of Talamanca culture. From the middle of the 17th century to the present, we can trace the use of bark cloth. In this respect, the following commentaries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)-ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

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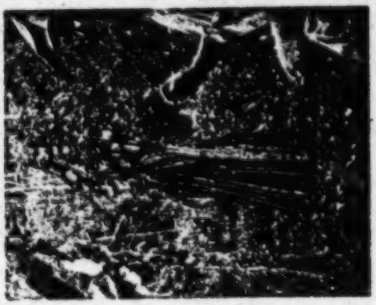

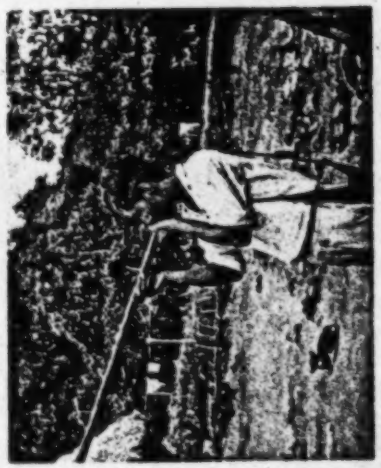

a, Method of shooting a bow and arrow. b, Shooting fish. c, Using a blow gun. d, Shelter for chickens.

[END Plate 2]